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Acta Andreae Apocrypha. A New Perspective on the Nature, Intention and Significance of the Primitive Text

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CAHIERS D'ORIENTALISME

XXVI

Lautaro ROIG LANZILLOTTA

ACTA ANDREAE APOCRYPHA

A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE NATURE,
INTENTION AND SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE PRIMITIVE TEXT

With 12 Plates

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LEARNING WITH A LAMP

ACT A MONUMENTAL JOURNALS

A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE HISTORY
OF THE PRIMITIVE TEXT

With 12 Plates

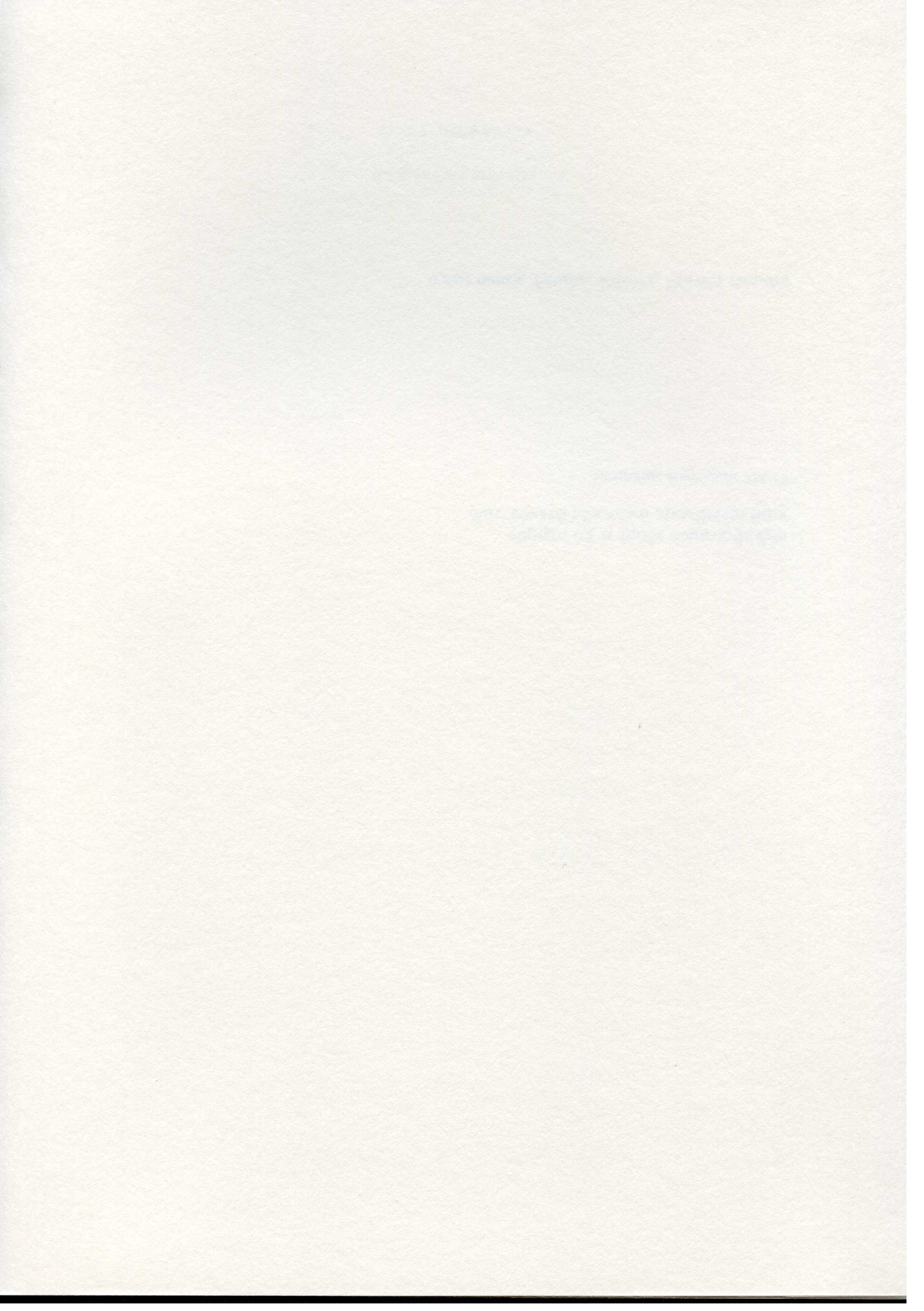
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εὖρημα δὴ τι τῆσδε συμφορᾶς ἔχω
ὥστ' εὐκλεᾶ μὲν παισὶ προσθεῖναι βίον

Euripides, *Hippolytus* 716-17

A mis nenes, Femke, Rosina, Rinse y Amalia



ABBREVIATIONS

Journals

AAWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.</i> Philologisch-historische Klasse. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana.</i> Brussel, Société des Bollandistes.
AGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.</i> Philol.-hist. Klasse. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
AHAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i> Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Heidelberg, Winter.
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology.</i> Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.</i> Berlin, De Gruyter.
Antike	<i>Die Antike. Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur des Klassischen Altertums.</i> Berlin.
Apocrypha	<i>Apocrypha: revue internationale des littératures apocryphes.</i> Turnhout, Brepols.
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete.</i> Leipzig, Teubner.
Arethusa	<i>Arethusa: a Journal of the Wellsprings of Western Man.</i> Buffalo, State University of New York.
ASNP	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia.</i> Pisa.
Augustinianum	<i>Augustinianum.</i> Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum.
Augustinus	<i>Augustinus: revista publicada por los Padres agustinos recoletos.</i> Madrid.
BAISStP	<i>Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg.</i> St.-Petersbourg, Graff.
ByzZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift.</i> Munich, Beck.
CFC: egi	<i>Cuadernos de filología clásica: estudios griegos e indoeuropeos.</i> Madrid, Universidad Complutense.
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly.</i> Oxford, Oxford University Press.
DRu	<i>Deutsche Rundschau.</i> Berlin, J. Rodenberg (ed).
EAC	<i>Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique / Fondation Hardt pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité Classique.</i> Geneva, Fondation Hardt.
Glotta	<i>Glotta: Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache.</i> Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Gnomon	<i>Gnomon: kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft.</i> Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
Gregorianum	<i>Gregorianum: commentarii de re theologica et philosophica.</i> Roma, Pontificia Univ. Gregoriana.
GV	<i>Geloof en Vrijheid: tweemaandelijksch tijdschrift.</i> Rotterdam, D.J.P. Storm Lotz.

<i>Habis</i>	<i>Habis: publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla.</i> Universidad de Sevilla.
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie.</i> Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
<i>HKZTLG</i>	<i>Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis.</i> Oudenaarde, Sanderus.
<i>HorSem</i>	<i>Horae Semiticae.</i> London, Clay and Sons.
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review.</i> New York, Harvard University Press.
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies.</i> Urbana, Ill., University of Illinois Press.
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i> London, Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.
<i>JPh</i>	<i>The Journal of Philosophy.</i> New York, Journal of Philosophy Inc.
<i>JThS</i>	<i>The Journal of Theological Studies.</i> London, Clarendon Press.
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum: schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft.</i> Basel, Schwabe.
<i>MIFAOCAire</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.</i> S.I., Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.
<i>Millennium</i>	<i>Millennium: tijdschrift voor Middeleeuwse studies.</i> Nijmegen, Stichting Millennium.
<i>Mind</i>	<i>Mind: a Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy.</i> Edinburgh, Nelson.
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review.</i> Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
<i>Mnemosyne</i>	<i>Mnemosyne: a Journal of Classical Studies.</i> Leiden, Brill.
<i>MKNAW</i>	<i>Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde.</i> Amsterdam, Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij.
<i>Muséon</i>	<i>Le Muséon: revue d'études orientales.</i> Louvain, Istas.
<i>NAWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.</i> Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
<i>NHPh</i>	<i>Neue Hefte für Philosophie.</i> Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
<i>NTest</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum: an International Quarterly for New Testament and Related Studies based on International Cooperation.</i> Leiden, Brill.
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies.</i> Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
<i>Philologus</i>	<i>Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum.</i> Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.
<i>RBen</i>	<i>Revue bénédictine de critique, d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.</i> Brussel, Abbaye de Maredsous.
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes.</i> Talence, Domaine Univ., Sect. d'Histoire.
<i>REAug</i>	<i>Revue des études augustinienes.</i> Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques: publication trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques.</i> Paris, Leroux.
<i>RHLR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.</i> Paris, Emile Nourry.
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für philologie.</i> Bonn, Eduard Weber.
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions.</i> Paris, Leroux.
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes.</i> Paris, Klincksieck.
<i>RPhA</i>	<i>Revue de philosophie ancienne.</i> Brussel, Ousia.
<i>RPhilos</i>	<i>Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger.</i> Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
<i>RSI</i>	<i>Rivista storica italiana.</i> Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.
<i>SAWW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.</i> Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>Scriptorium</i>	<i>Scriptorium: revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits.</i> Gand, Story-Scientia.

<i>Semeia</i>	<i>Semeia: an Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism</i> . Missoula, MT, Scholars Press.
<i>SMR</i>	<i>Studia Montis Regii</i> . Montreal.
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae osloenses</i> , auspiciis Societatis Graeco-Latinae ediderunt S. Eitrem et G. Rudberg. Christianiae.
<i>SPP</i>	<i>Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde</i> . Leipzig.
<i>SROrCr</i>	<i>Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano</i> . Rome, Tipur.
<i>StPatrist</i>	<i>Studia Patristica: Papers Presented to the International Conference on Patristic Studies</i> . Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.
<i>StudPhilon</i>	<i>The Studia Philonica Annual: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism</i> . Atlanta, Ga., Scholars Press.
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i> . Leipzig, Hinrichs.
<i>ThRev</i>	<i>Theologische Revue</i> . Münster i.W., Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät der Universität.
<i>ThRdschau</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i> . Freiburg i.Br., Mohr.
<i>Traditio</i>	<i>Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion</i> . New York, Fordham University Press.
<i>VChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae: a Review of Early Christian Life and Language</i> . Leiden, Brill.
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für classische Philologie</i> . Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> . Wien, Verlag des Institutes für Orientalistik der Universität Wien.
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> . Gotha, Perthes.
<i>ZPhF</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Philosophische Forschung</i> . Allgemeine Gesellschaft für Philosophie in Deutschland. Meisenheim a. Gl., Anton Hain.
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> . Berlin, de Gruyter.
<i>ZRGG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte: Journal of Religious and Intellectual History</i> . Leiden, Brill.
<i>ZThK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i> . Freiburg i.B., Mohr.

Series and Dictionaries

Armstrong, <i>History</i>	A.H. Armstrong (ed), <i>The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy</i> (Cambridge, 1967).
BKPh	<i>Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie</i> . Meisenheim a. G., Hain.
CCSA	<i>Corpus christianorum series apocryphorum</i> .
CCSL	<i>Corpus christianorum series latina</i> .
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i> .
Demetrakos	D. Demetrakou, <i>Mega lexikon holês tês Hellênikês glôssês</i> (Athens, 1949-51).
Demetrakos ²	D. Demetrakou, <i>Neon lexikon orthografikon kai hermêneutikon holês tês Hellênikês glôssês</i> (Athens, 1964).
Jannaris	A.N. Jannaris, <i>A Historical Greek Grammar. Chiefly of the Attic Dialect</i> (London, 1897).
Kühner-Gerth	R. Kühner and B. Gerth, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache</i> , 2 vols. (Hannover, 1983 [Repr. Hannover and Leipzig 1904]).
LSJM	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, S. Jones, R. McKenzie, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Oxford, 1996).

OCA	<i>Orientalia christiana analecta</i> . Roma, Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium.
PG	<i>Patrologia graeca</i> .
PL	<i>Patrologia latina</i> .
PO	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i> .
RE	A.F. von Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll et al., <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .
SBL	<i>Society of Biblical Literature. Seminar Papers Series</i> . Missoula (MT), Scholars Press.
ThWNT	G. Kittel et al., <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> .
ThRE	G. Krause and G. Müller, <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> .
TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> .
WF	<i>Wege der Forschung</i> . Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Texts, Editions and Manuscripts

1GrEp	1 Greek Epistle. Greek transl. of <i>Passio sancti Andreae apostoli</i> , M. Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37.
2GrEp	2 Greek Epistle. Second Greek transl. of <i>Passio sancti Andreae apostoli</i> with interpolations, Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37.
AA	<i>Acts of Andrew</i> .
AA's fragment in V	Fragment of the <i>Acts of Andrew</i> in ms Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507 ^r -512 ^v .
AAA	M. Bonnet, <i>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</i> II/1 (Leipzig, 1898).
AAgr	J.M. Prieur's textual reconstruction of AA, <i>Acta Andreae</i> (Turnhout, 1989) 442-549.
AAM	<i>Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos</i> .
AAPe	<i>Acts of Andrew and Peter</i> .
AJ	<i>Acts of John</i> .
APe	<i>Acts of Peter</i> .
APh	<i>Acts of Philip</i> .
Arm	<i>Armenian passion of St. Andrew</i> , L. Leloir, <i>Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres</i> I (Turnhout, 1986) 228-57.
ATh	<i>Acts of Thomas</i> .
BG	Papyrus Berolinensis Gnosticus 8502.
C	<i>Martyrium of St. Andrew</i> in ms Ann Arbor 36, ff. 60 ^v -66 ^v .
Č	Ch. Tchékarian's Armenian edition of the <i>Armenian passion of St. Andrew</i> , <i>Ankanon Girk' arak'elakank' [Non-Canonical Apostolic Writings. Armenian Treasury of Ancient and Recent Texts 3]</i> (Venice, 1904) 146-67.
C.H.	<i>Corpus hermeticum</i> .
Conversante	<i>Passio altera sancti Andreae apostoli</i> , M. Bonnet, AB 13 (1894) 373-78.
Doxographi	H. Diels, <i>Doxographi graeci</i> (Berlin, ³ 1959 [¹ 1979]).
D-K	H. Diels and W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker: Griechisch und Deutsch</i> (Berlin, ⁶ 1974).
Epistle, LatEp	<i>Passio sancti Andreae apostoli</i> , M. Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37.
Epitome	M. Bonnet, 'Georgii Florentii Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis liber de miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli', in B. Krusch (ed), <i>Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum merovingicarum</i> I/2 (Hannover, 1969) 371-96 [Reprint of Hannover, 1885].
Evodius I	Evodius' first fragment from AA in <i>De fide contra Manichaeos</i> 38.
Evodius II	Evodius' second fragment from AA in <i>De fide contra Manichaeos</i> 38.

H	Ms Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 103, ff. 155 ^r -168 ^v including the <i>Martyrdom of Saint Andrew</i> .
<i>Laudatio</i>	'Acta Andreae apostoli cum laudatione contexta', M. Bonnet, <i>AB</i> 13 (1894) 309-52.
LXX	Septuaginta.
M	Ms Montipessul. 55 (<i>ap.</i> Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, p. XI and 1-37).
<i>Malt A</i>	<i>Martyrium Andreae alterum A</i> , Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 58-64.
<i>Malt B</i>	<i>Martyrium Andreae alterum B</i> , Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 58-64.
<i>Mpr</i>	<i>Martyrium Andreae prius</i> , Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 46-57.
N-F	A.D. Nock and A.J. Festugière, <i>Corpus Hermeticum. I: Traités I-XII. T; II: Traités XIII-XVIII; Asclépius</i> (Paris, ² 1960).
<i>Narratio</i>	'Martyrium sancti apostoli Andreae', M. Bonnet, <i>AB</i> 13 (1894) 353-72.
<i>Nau</i>	<i>Exemplum Nauseae</i> (Coloniae, 1531, <i>ap.</i> Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> , p. XI and 1-37).
NHC	<i>Nag Hammadi Codices</i> . The Institute for Antiquity and Christianity (Leiden, 1975-...)
NT	New Testament.
NTA	E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> (Tübingen, 1959-64) and W. Schneemelcher, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> (Tübingen, 1989).
NTAE	English translation of NTA, W. Schneemelcher, <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> , Engl. transl. ed. by R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge, 1991-92).
O	Ms Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 30, ff. 154 ^v -156 ^v , including <i>Malt A</i> .
OT	Old Testament.
P	Ms Parisinus graecus 770, ff. 43 ^v -46 ^r , including <i>Malt A</i> .
PCU1	Coptic fragment in Papyrus Copticus Utrecht 1.
Pien	P.Ien.649, including a fragment of the Coptic version of Andrew's martyrdom.
Psalter I	Alleged AA's fragment in C.R.C. Allberry, <i>Manichaeen Psalm-book</i> , 142.20-21.
Psalter II	Alleged AA's fragment in Allberry, <i>Manichaeen Psalm-book</i> , 143.13-14.
Psalter III	Alleged AA's fragment in Allberry, <i>Manichaeen Psalm-book</i> , 192.26-28.
Q	Ms Parisinus gr. 1539, ff. 304 ^r -305 ^v including <i>Malt B</i> .
R	Ms Parisinus 11748, including <i>LatEp</i> (<i>ap.</i> Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 1-37).
S	Ms Sinaiticus gr. 526, ff. 121 ^v -132 ^v including the <i>Martyrdom of Saint Andrew</i> .
SVF	H.F. v. Arnim, <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> (Leipzig, 1921-24).
U	Ms Parisinus 12601, including <i>LatEp</i> (<i>ap.</i> Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 1-37).
V	Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507 ^r -512 ^v (manuscript reading).
V ^b	'Ex actis Andreae', Bonnet's edition of AA's fragment in V (<i>AAA</i> II/1, 38-45).
V ^p	Prieur's edition of V.
V ^r	Our edition of AA's fragment in ms Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507 ^r -512 ^v .
<i>Vita</i>	A. Dressel's edition of Epiphanius' <i>Vita Andreae, Epiphanius monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita</i> (Paris /Leipzig, 1843).
<i>VitaEsc</i>	Version of <i>Vita</i> in ms Escorial y II 6 (gr. 314), ff. 226 ^v -246 ^r .
<i>VitaParis</i>	Version of <i>Vita</i> in ms Paris BN gr. 1510, ff. 1 ^r -19 ^v .
X	Ms Parisinus 5273, including <i>LatEp</i> (<i>ap.</i> Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 1-37).

Other Abbreviations

AD	anno Domini
BC	before Christ

ca.	circa
cf.	confer
cod.	codex
ed	editor
eds	editors
f (after number)	following
ff (after number)	following (plural)
f. (before number)	folio
ff. (before number)	folios
fr.	fragment
<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ibidem</i>
ms	manuscript
mss	manuscripts
N.S.	New Series
p.	page
pp.	pages
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i>
<i>scil.</i>	scilicet
transl.	translation

INTRODUCTION

THE *Acts of Andrew* (AA), together with the *Acts of John, Paul, Peter and Thomas*, is one of five major examples of a heterogeneous subcategory of New Testament apocryphal literature generally known as 'Apocryphal Acts of Apostles'. Ever since they were first noticed, these texts tend to be grouped together by authors and described in a variety of ways, including 'conspicuous deeds', 'journeyings', 'acts', or 'martyrdom of apostles' – a variability which may be evidence that, already at an early stage of their transmission, there was difficulty in classifying them into a clear-cut and uniform textual category. In point of fact, even if they purportedly narrated the adventures of the apostles while fulfilling their mission duties around the world, these texts written between the second and third centuries present very diverse contents and highly diverging textual characteristics.

Just like the rest of this group of texts, AA allegedly described the stations of Andrew's peregrinations about his allotted area. 'Allegedly' because there is no clear and distinct evidence that allows us to assert, on a solid and objective basis, that this was in fact the case with the primitive *Acts of Andrew*. All the versions of the story that point in this direction tend to be rather late sources whose relationship with the primitive Acts or their fidelity to the original account is not always easy to evaluate.

In point of fact, we know very little of the primitive *Acts of Andrew*. As is customary with most Early Christian Literature, we are completely ignorant about either its author or the exact time and place of composition. In the case of AA, however, our ignorance is even more dramatic, since it also covers essential issues such as the original textual character of the work, its length, its contents and intention. This ignorance obviously arises from an almost complete lack of texts that may reliably be considered to be witnesses to an early phase of AA's textual transmission.

AA's scanty textual situation is severe indeed. Not counting a couple of short and fragmentary testimonies, our text survives in a large number of texts of various kinds, lengths and provenances which allegedly transmit the primitive text, but whose relationship with it is not always easy to establish. This situation is aggravated by the fact that, on the one hand, the most interesting of these witnesses have been handed down fragmentarily, and, on the other, those that have been preserved completely present rather diverging accounts of the story.

According to some testimonies, for example, AA consisted of two clearly differentiated parts, the first of which described the peregrinations of the apostle while the second covered the events that took place in the last station of his mission, to wit his martyrdom in Achaia. According to others, AA included the martyrdom with a couple of preliminary events only. But this is not all, the first group of sources present up to three different versions of Andrew's itinerary, whereas the latter, even if in general preserving a common basic account, nevertheless present numerous divergences in detail, show different intentions and pursue different goals. As a result of this textual situation, not only the author, place and time of composition of the *Acts of Andrew* are unknown, its literary genre, contents, length, thought and intention are still a matter of conjecture today as well.

As is only to be expected, this peculiar textual situation produced an enormous and constant flow of scholarly literature during the twentieth century, intended to fill the gaps between our pieces of evidence. The abundance of second-hand sources and, especially, the lack of old material to check their reliability, was fertile ground for a wide range of hypotheses about what the primitive text looked like as well as for interpretations concerning its mentality.

As far as the text is concerned, the hypotheses about its original structure are certainly numerous, but until the 1980s the general attitude was nevertheless one of respect for the material handed down by tradition. Scholars refrained from a dubious reconstruction of the primitive textual stage attempted at the most either to determine which of the testimonies was likely to be closest to the primitive text or which elements in the various witnesses could be considered to be primitive. As they were conscious of the equivocal nature of our sources, investigators used to simply organise the texts according to a hypothetical sequence in order to provide a tentative and general picture of what AA may have looked like.

The 1980s, however, saw a drastic change both in the attitude toward the textual material and in the character of the investigations into the *Acts of Andrew*. The publication of a couple of new textual witnesses, some of which had in fact been known since the early twentieth century, seems to have encouraged scholars to radically change the previous careful approach towards the textual witnesses. Two editions, by J.M. Prieur and by D.R. MacDonald, followed each other within a couple of years and even though their methods, scopes and results are completely different, a common aim brings them close to each other: an attempt to provide, at whatever cost, a textual reconstruction of AA. Whereas documents used to be treated separately, analysed in detail and only then compared with one another in order to achieve an unbiased evaluation of the reliability of their accounts, now they are merged with one another, independently of their character and provenance, for the sake of the story's completeness and linearity.

Admittedly, AA has reached now a wider public, since it is now possible to read, depending on the edition, either a version of Andrew's martyrdom or a version of the apostle's travels. But this new approach has produced negative developments in the inquiry into the old *Acts of Andrew*. To begin with, both editions clearly accept two of the literary genres attested by the textual witnesses as a reliable literary framework for AA, although we do not know whether either or both fitted the primitive text.

Another important problem, in our view, is that these textual reconstructions are fallaciously presented to the reader as the primitive text for the section they cover. And this attitude is at least striking, especially considering that the analysis of most of the sources reveals clear traces of editorial activity, the measure of which is difficult to establish due to our lack of authoritative texts, but which in certain cases can be clearly evaluated on the basis of a comparative study of the materials. It is no exaggeration to affirm that, as far as the contents are concerned, these sources in fact provide only a pale reflection of the primitive text, that is, a textual skeleton of the portion(s) of text they transmit.

However, the most important objection to these textual reconstructions is perhaps the heterogeneous nature of the sources upon which they rely. Due to their different provenance, time of composition, intention and character, they present such stylistic and conceptual differences that the resulting eclectic text resists a coherent study of the text as whole.

As far as the interpretations of the text's mentality are concerned, the situation is comparable. After the Gnostic interpretation of the end of nineteenth century and the reaction against it in the beginning of the twentieth with the 'catholic' reading, the investigation moved away from black-and-white assertions towards a more natural middle point between these interpretative poles. The gradual understanding of the highly revised nature of AA's witnesses had allowed for both a more careful approach to the evidence and a more nuanced explanation of its conceptual peculiarities. As to the former, the indiscriminate use of texts in support of the most varied hypotheses began to create room for a more reasonable use of the materials which, on the basis of a comparative analysis of the witnesses, intended to sort out those aspects or segments of text that were likely to belong to the oldest textual stage. As to the latter, the investigation concerning AA's thought progressed slowly but surely towards an approach to the text that intended to avoid preconceived clichés. Instead of deductively looking in the text for ideas that may support this or that interpretation, the inductive analysis of AA's conceptual peculiarities began to provide the raw material for the reconstruction of the primitive text's mentality.

But the 1980s saw once again a change in the course of investigations. As could be expected, coupled with the indiscriminate approach to the textual witnesses of these years was the interpretative attempt to construe the mentality of these heterogeneous textual conglomerates. The results were predictable. Obviat-

ing the fact that eclecticism was at the basis of the textual reconstructions, the mentality of AA is now confidently described as manifestly eclectic. However, the so-called eclecticism that investigations find in AA is not the result of a 'coherent' sort of eclecticism –i.e., not the expression of a consistent train of thought by means of religious or philosophical imagery proceeding from different groups or schools. Rather, it is a *totum revolutum* of ideas, which on occasion manifestly contradict each other in a way that is simply impossible.

There is naturally nothing strange in claiming that a text of this period is religiously or philosophically eclectic, but the author of a text should never be held responsible for the anarchic approach of the investigators who study him. In point of fact, AA's so-called religious and philosophical eclecticism disappears when the analysis of its thought is preceded by a coherent discrimination of the textual basis upon which it relies.

Scholarly research on AA in the last few years has been negatively influenced by these developments. Despite the obvious problems posed by the most recent textual reconstructions, scholars tend confidently to approach them as if they had reliably recovered the primitive text. The results of such an approach are, in our opinion, visible. There is in the first place an obvious lack of interest in textual matters. After the appearance at the end of the 1980s of the books on AA by Prieur and MacDonald, the efforts to advance the recovery of the primitive textual stage clearly diminished. In addition, there appears to be an increasing tendency to treat AA's textual reconstruction as a textual whole and to analyse it as if we had a sort of *textus receptus* of the *Acts of Andrew*. And this has also clear negative consequences for the interpretation of the contents, the message and the orientation of AA: Given the wide range of texts –and the mentalities peculiar to them– that underlie these editions, the current eclectic versions of AA seem to provide support for any interpretation of the primitive text whatsoever.

The present investigation is a critical approach both to the recent editions and to the latest developments in the research on AA. With the conviction that a text is not the sum of the events it narrates but rather the system of signs and symbols with which these events are narrated, it pays more attention to those textual witnesses that provide a glimpse into the symbolic and conceptual world of the text. Instead of focussing on the doubtful reconstruction of the itinerary and the stations of Andrew's apostolic career, it has tried to approach the message and intention of the primitive text by concentrating on the textual testimonies that are likely to preserve it in a more original state.

Consequently, it deliberately intends to deconstruct the textual conglomerations achieved by merging witnesses of various provenances in order to isolate a testimony that, even if short, may provide access to the thought behind the primitive text. Admittedly, deciding which of the numerous and frequently second-hand materials on the apostle Andrew preserves the most primitive stage is not a simple matter. How can we decide what is old and what is new without a touchstone that proves it to be so? Much of our efforts will indeed be dedicated to an exhaustive analysis of the textual testimonies in search of clues that will allow an objective discrimination of the materials.

Within this scope, the investigation is divided into five chapters. In order to avoid subjectivisms as far as possible and to reduce to a minimum references to previous scholarship in subsequent parts of the book, the first chapter offers a complete analysis of the research on AA. In chronological order, we follow the developments, advances and relapses of scholarly research from R.A. Lipsius onwards in order to see to what extent the theories and hypotheses put forward by scholars rely on an objective selection and analysis of the textual materials, and whether their selections influence their analyses or vice versa. The closing section of this chapter offers an overview of the main lines of investigation on AA as well as of the text(s) used to support these investigations.

After the first approach to the textual witnesses in the first chapter, the second offers a more profound textual analysis of their testimonies. On the basis of their textual characteristics, we discriminate different textual groups and attempt to establish their mutual relationships. The comparative analysis of the different texts provides the basis both for a hypothetical sketch of the historical development of AA's textual transmission and for a tentative explanation of its textual diversification.

At the same time, this comparative analysis also allows us to isolate a text that may serve our intention to recover the symbolic and conceptual world of the primitive AA. Given the fact that a representative number of the textual testimonies appear to present transformed and revised versions of the account preserved in one of our extant sources, it can reliably be assumed that this latter source preserves the ground text or, at least, the oldest stage of all of them.

The third chapter thus focuses on this text, viz. AA's fragment in Codex Vaticanus graecus 808, and provides a codicological and palaeographical introduction, a re-edition of its testimony and an English translation accompanied by numerous explanatory notes. By isolating this testimony from the remaining texts we can focus on its conceptual peculiarities without the interference of the dubious readings proceeding from apparently later and reworked sources.

The fourth chapter further builds on the foundation provided by the re-edition and translation in the third chapter. Owing to the text's liberation from the pressure of other testimonies, a complete literary and conceptual analysis is now possible. On the basis of this analysis, we proceed to disclose the complex literary structure and subtle conceptual developments of the text in order to show that AA cannot be seen as a careless product of a compiler or as a second or third-class composition.

The first aim of this approach is to show the extent to which the long discourses in the text constitute essential elements in the complex structure of AA's conception of man and his reality, and should therefore not be seen as 'tedious' or verbose but empty expositions. By unveiling the interconnection and complementary character of the ideas expressed in these discourses, the analysis will further show that their careful disposition not only intends to achieve an artistic goal, but also to convey a consistent body of thought and a clear message.

Given that the fourth chapter analyses form and contents in such a way that it is not always possible to separate one aspect from the other, the fifth and last chapter is wholly and exclusively devoted to the study of AA's thought. Within this scope it deliberately offers a systematic exposition of AA's thought on the basis of five philosophical categories that may at the same time serve as an objective tool for scrutiny and facilitate the comparison with other religious and philosophical texts of the period. The detailed review of AA's position with regard to cosmology, theology, anthropology, epistemology and ethics allows the reader to see not only the extent to which our text presents an extremely coherent and consistent body of thought without serious internal contradictions, but also that its views were not a strange phenomenon in late antiquity. The comparison of AA's thought with parallel developments in its contemporary historical period reveals that far from being an alien in his world, its author was receptive to the religious and philosophical developments of his contemporaries and he did not hesitate to apply them to express his own *Weltanschauung*.